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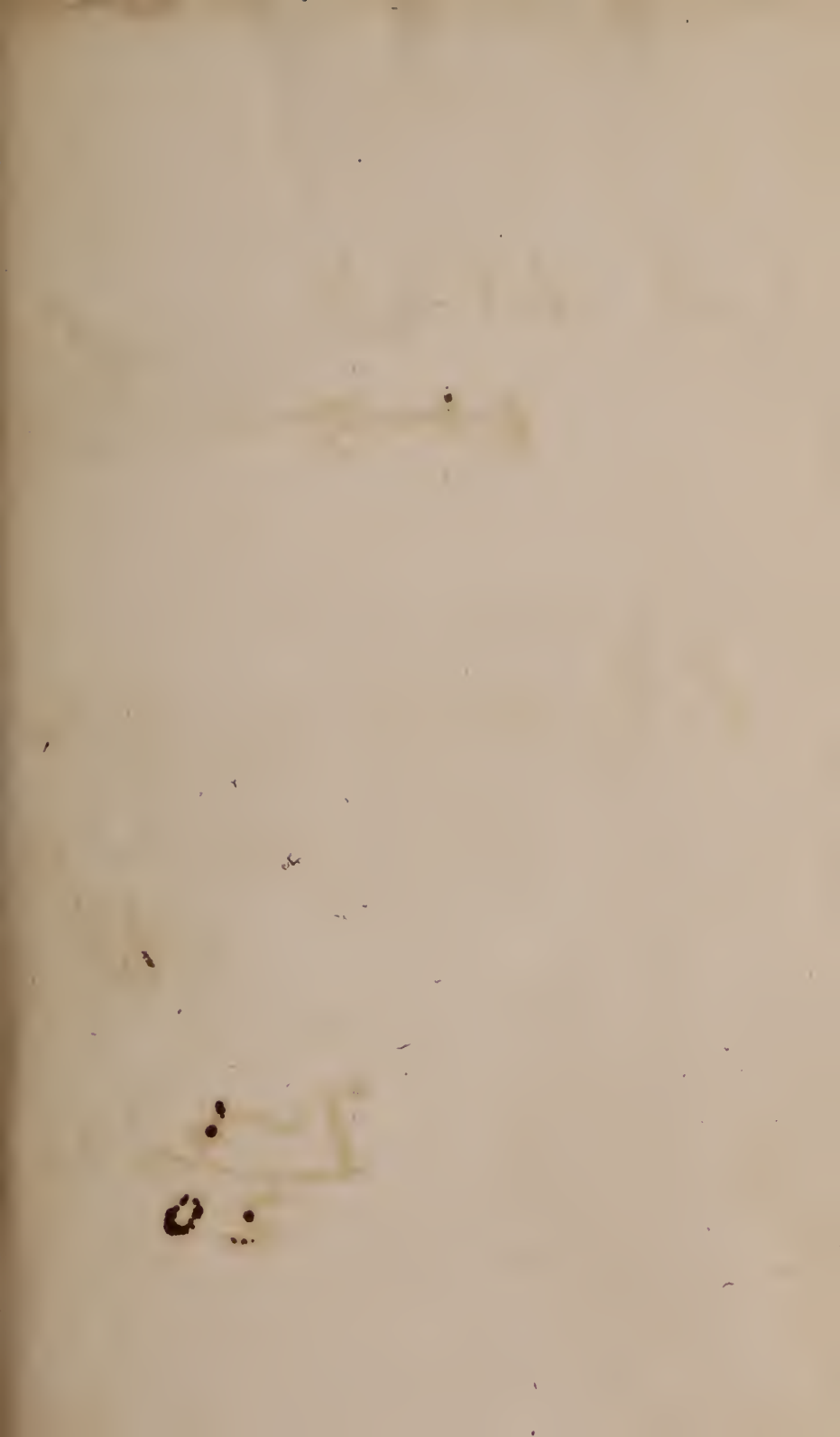
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THE

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AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XV.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN
COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON:

1839.

NOTICE.

To complete the volume to which this Index belongs, has been much desired, and has been in contemplation since the death of Mr. DUNN, the proprietor of the work at that time. But the unsettled state of the affairs of the deceased, and the slow process since in collecting the money due his estate, rendered it impossible to do so before this. It is hoped, however, that the volume being now complete, no further obstacles will be in the way of speedy collections, and that the orphan children of Mr. DUNN will thus be opportunely relieved.

To those persons especially who have been in the habit of preserving and having the Repository bound, for future reference, this title and index will be very acceptable, and of the greatest utility.

WASHINGTON, OCT. 4, 1841.

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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
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VOL. XV.]

FEBRUARY, 1839.

[No. 2.

LOUIS SHERIDAN'S LETTER.

THE following letter from L. Sheridan, of Liberia, to Lewis Tappan, of New York, has been widely circulated by the abolitionists with a view of injuring the Colonization cause. We therefore accompany its publication with two explanatory letters from the Rev. Mr. Matthias, late Governor of Bassa Cove, and the Rev. Mr. Seys, the talented Missionary Agent in Africa of the Methodist Church, whose opinions on the subjects touched upon, cannot fail to have their due weight with all candid readers.

Louis Sheridan, we will take this opportunity of stating, was a resident of Elizabeth, Bladen County, N. C., where he owned and resided in one of the best houses in the village, carried on a farm and a considerable mercantile concern, and was considered one of the most talented and respectable colored men in the Southern Country. Nor had he any idea of leaving his comfortable home, until that State, in its lately amended Constitution, deprived all colored men, whatever might be their talents, property or character, of a vote for members of the General Assembly. With this change Sheridan became dissatisfied, and after holding a correspondence with the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, determined to emigrate to Liberia, and to carry with him all his connexions, his remaining stock in trade, lumber for building, &c., &c. A vessel was accordingly chartered in New York; the Society giving its agent particular directions to engage one with sufficient room for Sheridan's goods. But, notwithstanding, when the vessel touched at Wilmington for Sheridan and his connexions and some others, it was found nothing like sufficient space was left for his goods, and that being the case, he deferred his embarkation to another opportunity, to the great disappointment, not only of himself, but of the Parent Society. The Pennsylvania and New York Colonization Society hearing of this circumstance, offered immediately to fit out a vessel and carry Sheridan and his friends to their new settlement at Bassa Cove, which he, rather unadvisably, we think, accepted; for it is probable, had he gone to the flourishing town of Monrovia, where he would not only have found comfortable residences,

but good society and other enjoyments, he might have been reconciled to his lot, though not surrounded with all the comforts which he had left behind him.

It is impossible to account for some of the extraordinary statements in L. Sheridan's letter, without supposing that he must have been under the influence of the fever which is so apt to attack emigrants on their first arrival on the African coast.

TO LEWIS TAPPAN, ESQ., NEW YORK,

U. S. America, via London.

VERY DEAR SIR: In looking over some memorandums of my correspondence with the Colonization Societies in America, I find a letter addressed by you to me, when in North Carolina, the subject matter whereof having been replied to at that time, the review at this date seems only to call up the remembrance of former kindness, an acknowledgment whereof I would on no proper occasion omit to make. This premise, I now set me to the task of making you acquainted, so far as my own knowledge, derived from observation and information, extends, with the particulars of our situation, and the prospects connected with these settlements of the Colony in Liberia. I was sent here under the patronage of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania and New York, for the purpose of making developments of the resources of the soil in Africa. I accordingly arrived on 7th of February, 1838, on board the barque Marine, but had no communication from the shore until the next day; a note was sent to Captain Buckmar, inquiring whether his was the vessel containing the expedition looked for from the United States. We were then on the eve of starting for the shore, and of course, did not wait to have any further correspondence on the subject, but pushed off, and on the 8th day of February, my feet first pressed the soil of wretched Africa. The situation of these two places, Edina and Bassa Cove, is picturesque enough, and were the people and the Government industrious and efficient, something of the delightful might be made out of them; this, however, is altogether gratuitous on my part, for panegyric from me is the last thing looked for by Colonizationists, and again, the climate, soil, and economy here forbid that any thing of importance shall be accomplished at least for some time to come.

I was, on landing, walked up to a tolerable looking house, and introduced to the Rev. Gov. J. J. Matthias. This Governor had heard of me, my purpose, design, intention, &c., &c., and every accommodation and assistance should be given me, as it had been particularly requested by Gov. Buchanan. But lo! the sad discrepancy there oftentimes is, betwixt our practice and our professions; our accommodations were proposed in some half-a-dozen pens made of poles, about the size of such as a Southern white man, in his fury, would snatch up to beat a negro with; and these pens, covered with thatch,—do you know what that is?—the foliage of a shrub called bamboo, tied on, so as when dry to admit the water by the most easy and convenient means, next to leaving the roof uncovered. These I utterly refused to go into; and had to hire houses from the people of Edina, at a great expense, for the whole of the expedition, 70 in number.

My next essay was to make provision for such of our people as could get on shore, during that day, as nothing could be landed from the vessel. I was very readily furnished by the Governor's store-keeper with a barrel of rotten corn meal, for which owing to my having none to return in place of it, I had to pay the pretty little trifle of \$8. My next application to his ex-

cellency, was on the subject of land. I found that I was destined to a settlement up the St. John's, 6 miles from the bar; and that on my taking the oath of allegiance, I could have what land I wished. But now comes the tug of war. After delay of four weeks, and so much valuable time lost, I was presented with the constitution of Bassa Cove, manufactured for the special use of Hankerson or some other person's slaves. Surprise, indignation, and every other temper such as an insult was calculated to inspire, aroused me almost to a transport of fury, and I vowed, so help me God! to die rather than take an oath to support such a constitution. I then told his governorship, that I had come from the United States to be freed from the tyranny of the white man, and that I should not be easily brought again to submit to it;—but, my dear sir, 'tis but a vain boast, for all the while that we are here we are subject to it. Fancy to yourself an establishment—call it a colony, or plantation, or what you will—with but a single white man at the head of its affairs; the laws that govern it framed by him, or by his predecessor, which is the same; himself the executive, and so down to the veriest lackey in the concern, all of his appointment; see this same white man in the possession of, and accountable to nobody that can bring him to account for all the funds contributed by the gullies of Colonization; see him without the smallest degree of mercantile knowledge, laying on and charging enormous advances, say one or two hundred per cent. on the very necessities procured by voluntary contributions, gotten together under pretence of benefiting the colored man in Africa, and of which he receives not one iota beyond what he buys, and must pay for at the enormous advances charged on their original cost in the United States. And for whose benefit are these charges made? Not the individual donors, not the Managers of the Society, not the Colonists; who then? why just nobody, that father of all mischiefs. But it is characteristic enough of any man, who would come here and satisfy himself with the blushing honors of being called Governor, over a few crazy freed negroes and mulattoes. You may be disposed to smile at the application I make of the term crazy freed negroes, &c.; but, sir, listen to facts, and then judge of its propriety. In the first place, they have aimed at producing certain effects by unapt causes. 2ndly, they have exerted reasoning, if such it can be called, without proper data to ground their opinions on; and 3dly, they have striven to deduce certain consequences from illy founded premises. Now to explain this—some of the colonists on their arrival in this country, were in possession of some amount of money; and instead of remembering themselves to be no more than exiles from their native home and husbanding their resources, they set up a kind of aristocracy, and in order to maintain their dignity, spent more than all they had. A second class, are those who went upon the plan of living by their wits; and of all the devil's inventions to keep people poor, this has most wonderfully succeeded; for how can men thrive by such means, when there is not in their community subjects for their wits to be exercised upon. And a third class, ashamed to beg and too proud to work, went upon the trading scheme, for finding the gullibility of the natives and the easy and cheap rate for which their stuffs could be had, they chose rather to compound with their backs and stomachs until they could no longer be trusted, and so their revenues ceased; and finally, every one, until now, seems to have forgotten that we are to obtain our bread in the sweat of our face. You may fancy this a distorted picture of affairs in Liberia, but, sir, I would rather my right hand should perish from my body, than it should pen a lie; for there is not an individual man who does not eat the beef and pork of some Society, or who has not ate of it until he has almost become choked therewith, but will tell you, if he had it to do again, he would prefer to die rather than come here. I have conversed with several,

not only of these settlements, but many belonging to the old Colony, and have asked them why they have suffered such lies favoring these Colonies to be circulated and published in the United States.

Why, sir, say the more intelligent, misery, you know, likes company ! and, sir, say another class, I did not like to become conspicuous in any way, either for or against the Society. And, say a third class, we were afraid as we were here, if we said anything, no more would come, and we should be too weak to stand against the natives. And, say a fourth, which forms the great majority, we know nothing about what has been said, only this we know that if we had the means of getting away we would not stay here. Now, sir, it is my being involved with such a wretched pack that gives acerbity to my temper. Would I not rather die, than do the devil's work in thus deceiving people to their ruin ; for it does seem to me, that with the one exception of Mr. Nobody making money out of the goods sent here, instead of giving them, as I always thought or understood was intended to be done, to the poor perished colonists for their help and support, the rest is only a well schemed project of destruction. It has been said that the colony at Monrovia was improving. No such thing, sir, IT IS DYING, but may not expire before its sisters Edina and Bassa Cove shall have taken its disease, (the slave trade,) and both go off together.

It has been said that the slave trade had disappeared from this part of the coast. If ever it was the case, there is now a fearful reaction ; for the first vessel I saw near the shore, a few miles above, and in sight of Monrovia, was shown to me as a slaver ; and at Crew Town, a place in sight of our Governor's seat, I have seen divers vessels, of whom it was said to me, they are slavers, sir. And so far from the slave trade being at all diminished, I am of opinion that it is now carried around, about, and amongst us, to a fearfully alarming degree. Again it has been said, that the establishment of Christian Colonies of free blacks on this coast, would tend to Christianize Africa. I always doubted the fact, and now I know it to be false.— So very far from this being the case, I will venture to affirm, that could a correct analysis be made of the progression of mind, and the weight of physical influence in the two castes, that the preponderance would be shown in favor of the colonists approximating nearest to the Heathen's barbarity.— True, there have been some very few converts of natives to Christianity ; but for every one so converted, five Americans have pulled off their clothes and gone naked : and there is not a child now growing up in the Colony who would not prefer speaking Hebo or Bassa to common English, and not only using their jargon but also adopting their manners and customs, and such, to me, are fearful signs as regards Colonization.

The land on the sea coast, you in all probability have been informed, is sandy, and in many places low and marshy, and hence it is very poor and good for nothing ; but as you go toward the interior it is gently undulating, with here and there a bluff making to the river, as the mounts or capes do on the sea. This land is of a mixed quality, and some very good spots may be selected for farm settlements. Such an one is, I think, selected by our masters for our occupancy ; my having refused to become a citizen of this realm by swearing to be a white man's slave, threw me out of the pale of regal favor, and I had to take a lease of 600 acres, to enable me to carry out my verbal promise, made to the Society who sent me here. I think it probable we shall succeed, though I have already made myself sick, and as there is no alternative but pump up or down, I will work so long as I can, and quit when I can do no more. I think it unnecessary to enter into detail of the peculiar barbarousness of this country, and its yet more barbarous natives ; though if there were to be seen nothing more than its roads and waters, it

would, in the "tout ensemble," be a tolerable prospect; but oh! the millions of millions of ants that every where cover the ground, and mounds of earth, y'clep'd bug-a-bug hills, thrown up here, there, and every where, you know not how or why; and the chattering of Monkeys, and the unearthly sound of the Whaw-whaw, enough in themselves to drive civilization back to its original darkness, and make chaos come again.

I believe I will weary you no longer with this detail, but if you desire it, you can have an abundance more of the same relation.

I know not that our experiment will make for or against the Colonization scheme, as I am not yet prepared to say, whether people ought to come here or not; this is one of the objects I have in view, and to arrive legitimately at these conclusions, will require further experiments than I have yet made.—When my conclusions are formed either way (all's alike to me,) you shall have it; and, in the meantime, I beg you send me some American papers, as I should like to know what is going on in the States, not that I feel much interest in these matters at the present, but that it would be agreeable to know the ascendancy of parties as they occur, forasmuch as we expect them to change.

Accept my high consideration, and am, yours, most respectfully.

LOUIS SHERIDAN.

EDINA, LIBERIA, 16th JULY, 1838.

[From the New York Commercial Advertiser.]

REMARKS ON LOUIS SHERIDAN'S LETTER.

A printed letter purporting to have been written by Louis Sheridan, a colored man, formerly of Wilmington, North Carolina, but now a resident of Bassa Cove, Liberia, addressed to Mr. L. Tappan of this city, is circulated with great industry, and, in some instances, with singular impertinence, by the enemies of African Colonization. It has elicited no small triumph on their part; they would have us believe that now we are "used up" and Colonization is demonstrably proved, to borrow their own phrase, to be a "humbug." Those of us who have been to Africa, and are acquainted with the state of things there, are no little amused with these "explosions," as they are called. It is really a pity to take from these poor gentlemen the extreme gratification they seem to manifest in the reports of the incapacity of the colored man to govern himself, or to live in the country of his ancestors.

I had intended not to notice this letter in this way, but my friends have urged me to reply to it; the impression is that amongst a certain class it may do harm if permitted to pass unnoticed. Mr. Sheridan, I am aware, will appear in not the most enviable light before the public; but if he is so regardless of himself as to send such abusive and false statements to this country, and into such hands, he must take the consequences.

Sheridan came to Africa deeply imbued with a spirit of hostility to the Colonization cause. As soon as he landed he was conducted, not to my house, as he says, but to my office; as soon as our introduction was over, he abruptly said, in the presence of a number of persons, "Sir, I wish to inform you that I am no Colonizationist." I replied that he certainly was one in practice, "or what do you here?" He said, "I dont know how I came here." Here the conversation on this subject ended, and soon after he accompanied me to my house to dinner. I told him after dinner, that he could look at the houses we had built for the emigrants; some of them were not yet finished, but would be soon; that if he did not like to live in Bassa Cove he could go to Edina, or any where else he chose; that nothing should be wanting on our part to make himself and the emigrants as comfortable as our means would admit of.

He says in his letter that the houses we had prepared for the emigrants were "pens made of poles, thatched with the foliage of a shrub called bamboo, tied on, so as when dry to admit the water by the most easy and convenient means, next to leaving the roof uncovered." How Sheridan could make this statement, so utterly wide of the truth, I am at a loss to conceive; if he saw those houses at all, he knew that they were built of logs, with doors, window shutters, and floors of good thick plank, and thatched with the branches of the palm tree, as all the native houses are, and many houses of the Colonists. As Mr. Tappan has fathered this wondrously accurate production, and has really swallowed the horns to get the animal, I will inform him for his instruction, that the bamboo is not a shrub, nor has it a sufficient foliage, or is it ever used for roofing houses. And what is still more surprising, which Sheridan has not seen necessary to name to his credulous correspondent, he had built six houses before I left, at Bexley, for the same emigrants (if they choose to occupy them) and for himself, of the same description, with logs of about the same size, and thatched with the same material as the houses he rejected, which he represent as unfit to live in; nay, I hazard nothing in saying they were better than his. I saw both with my own eyes.

His next essay, he says, was to procure provisions for his people, and our storekeeper sold him a barrel of rotten corn meal, for which he says he had to pay eight dollars. I have but an indistinct recollection of this transaction. I know, however, that if Mr. Benson, the storekeeper sold him a damaged barrel of meal it was by accident; we never saw it. Sheridan did not return it; it was his own story; but, notwithstanding, under these circumstances he was permitted to pay what it was worth. Mr. Seyes, who was at Bassa Cove soon after, and heard of the affair, says that he paid four dollars only, and that was in brown sugar for my family, for which he charged me twenty-five cents per pound.

He says he suffered a delay of four weeks and so much valuable time was lost. He did not apply for land or to see the constitution, until he had been in the colony three weeks; it was about two weeks before we could dismiss the barque; and during that time we were all too much engaged to think of any thing but the landing and storing of goods. It kept him a week to settle his people, and examine the country up the St. John's in which he proposed settling. As soon as he determined on what terms he would accept of land, he received it. It is not true that he was thrown into a paroxysm of surprise and rage when he first saw the constitution; he objected to it, to be sure, and it was in vain I assured him that it was but a provisional and temporary one; that the societies designed ultimately to withdraw their officers, and leave the colonies to govern themselves; but his hatred to the Colonization Societies would not allow him to listen to arguments in their favor.

The authority of the governor about which Sheridan says so much in this letter, every one knows, who has reflected at all on the subject, depends for its exercise upon the support of the people. He will recollect the ludicrous circumstances which followed an attempt made by him and some two or three others to get up even a petition for a change of government, and that he said, under the excitement of the moment, they were a set of niggers who deserved no better government.

The libellous insinuation of my dishonestly appropriating the funds of the society to my own use, I will not, at this time, nor in this way notice. It cannot affect the cause of Colonization, whether I am a knave or an honest man; but for a man professing to be a christian, for such I presume is Mr. Tappan, to circulate such a slander against one of whom he is entirely ignorant, is to me a melancholy proof how far some men may go in the propa-

gation of a favorite theory, at the expense of trampling upon those charities which constitute the bond and bliss of society, and of christianity.

During my absence from my native land, I necessarily was, in a great measure, ignorant of the controversy which has agitated the public mind in respect to our colored population, and never, indeed, took much part in it. But since my return, and of late, the gratuitous, rude, ungentlemanly, and unchristian-like attacks which have been made upon me by those who would be thought leaders in the cause of philanthropy and emancipation, have amazed me. I have asked myself, can these be my brothers? And are these their tender mercies? Heaven save me from them. I would rather throw myself upon the friendship of Bob Gray and King Soldier of Grand Bassa.

I need not say any thing in defence of the inhabitants of Edina and Bassa Cove—they are as respectable as any colored people in the United States.

Sheridan, doubtless, will be required to answer where he now is, for denouncing them as “crazy freed negroes and mulattoes.”

Sheridan's classification of the people is a false one. Equally false is his statement of the dissatisfaction of the colonists, unless he has made them so since I left.

He says that slavery is carried on among us, i. e. in our colonies. This, too, I pronounce a falsehood.

I approach now an important part of these singular statements. I give his words. He denies “that the establishment of Christian colonies of free blacks on this coast would tend to Christianize Africa; he says, I always doubted the fact, and now I know it to be false. So very far from this being the case, I will venture to affirm, that could a correct analysis be made of the progression of mind and the weight of physical influence in the two cases, the preponderance would be shown in favor of the colonist approximating nearest to the heathen's barbarity. True, there have been some very few converts of natives to christianity, but for every one so converted, five Americans have pulled off their clothes and gone naked.”

I call the attention of those who may read this paper to the above statement: if it be true, our missionary societies have expended their money in vain—the reports of missionaries cannot be relied on—infidelity will triumph, and poor Africa must be left to grope her way to death in the darkness of heathen ignorance and depravity.

I feel happy, however, that I have it in my power, for the honor of the gospel, as well as the cause of Colonization, to contradict this story. Waiving Sheridan's philosophy “of the progressive analysis of mind and weight of physical influence in the two cases,” as beyond my comprehension, I reply, that in Edina, where he resides, is a school of native youth, one of the teachers of which is a colonist—that the other schools in the colonies are taught by colonists—that most of the ministers of the gospel are colonists—that the building of churches and the introduction of the gospel with its institutions have been through the medium of the colonists; and are we to believe that all these efforts are productive of no good to Africa? Believe it who can.

Again: we are told that “where there is one native converted to christianity, five Americans have pulled off their clothes and gone naked.” I claim to know as much at least of Africa, as Mr. Sheridan; and I never heard or knew of more than one instance of the kind. A poor fellow from one of the Southern States, who had been taken from Africa and sold as a slave but seven years ago, and was hardly civilized, for fear of an arrest for debt in the colony, fled to King Soldier, and when his clothes were worn out, he had necessarily to adopt the costume of the natives. I saw and conversed with him frequently; he often begged of me clothes. I left him in

the employ of Sheridan, as his overseer of the natives, who were employed in the cultivation of his farm, and dressed like the other colonists.

There is no such tendency to barbarism as is here stated. Sheridan saw every thing through the perverted medium of deep-rooted prejudice, induced by misguided men of this country, as appears from the remarks appended to the letter by his correspondent, Mr. Tappan.

We are further told, that the soil on the sea coast is very poor and good for nothing. The reverse of this is the case. Sheridan knew the productiveness of the gardens of Edina—of the farms above Edina, on the coast, and around Bassa Cove. It is truly painful to reflect upon the spirit which dictates this libel upon Africa. Mr. S. could only look from his own house to Doctor Moore's farm, situated immediately on the coast, to be convicted of the untruths he has uttered. This farm is the most productive of any in the settlement; in a season of scarcity, it supplied nearly the whole colony with vegetables.

I fear that I have protracted this reply to an improper length; but I must ask the indulgence of the reader to lay before him some few other facts, and I have done. Sheridan was told that he was at liberty to settle any where he chose—to accept of land as a citizen, if he would become such, or as an alien on lease; he chose the latter, and accepted of a lease for 600 acres of land, as a gratuity from the society, for twenty years.

Mr. Sheridan, after representing "Africa to be a wretched place, the land good for nothing, the government inefficient, the people a wretched pack, the chattering of monkeys, and the unearthly sounds of whaw-whaw, enough to drive civilization back to its original darkness," gravely closes his letter by saying, "that he is not prepared to say whether people ought to come here or not." So consistent is this veracious correspondent of Mr. Tappan.

I never was more interested than with the picturesque beauties of these African rivers. The sounds which scared this colored man, and "made him apprehend the coming back of old chaos," were to me fraught with no ordinary delight.

JOHN J. MATTHIAS.

THE REV. JOHN SEYS TO THE REV. J. J. MATTHIAS.

Rev. and dear Sir—In compliance with your request that I should leave with you, previous to my departure for Africa, my views, in writing, of that notable letter from Liberia, written by Louis Sheridan, which it appears has been published with so much pains, to give it the most extensive circulation, I beg leave to assure you, that such is the unworthiness of the whole composition, that if it were not for the gross and unwarrantable attack which the writer has made on your character, and the fact of my being personally acquainted with all that occurred in your intercourse with him, and therefore having it in my power to refute the whole catalogue of misrepresentations, I should most certainly decline wasting either time or thought, especially at the very point of embarkation, on this said "important intelligence from Liberia." Having promised, however to notice the matter at all, permit me in the first place, to express the utter surprise which I felt, on perusing it, that any man professing to have even a moderate share of common sense, could bring into public notice such a mass of ignorance, contradiction, defamation and falsehood, as furnishing cogent reasons and well-founded arguments against the benevolent scheme of African Colonization.

But to particularize. One conspicuous compound in the ingredient is gross ignorance. The thatch with which your houses were covered, (for I saw and examined them,) was the palm-leaf thatch, not bamboo. It is used

universally by the native princes and head men, and will last for years. I have been in the house of a native king, on the banks of the St. Paul's river, for hours, during the heaviest showers in our rainy season, and no cypress shingles could have screened us more effectually from the rain. I have known estated gentlemen, their wives and families, in the island of Trinidad, to live in houses thus covered, and live dry and comfortably. The poles, so called, were small logs, (I wonder if the writer ever saw log houses in "big Merica;") and I remember that the expedition in the Marine arriving before you could get them boarded up, or plastered in the inside, caused the emigrants to find them unfinished on their arrival, and, of consequence, that other houses were procured for them.

Monkeys chatter in Liberia, and annoy the new settlers!!! What "important intelligence from that country!" Buggybugs, as the natives call the well-known termites—known to every school boy who has read the history of the torrid zone, for they are found in several of the finest West India islands, as well as in other countries in that division of the globe—buggybugs throw up their mounds of earth, and "oh! what millions of millions of ants there are." Dreadful! each of these little fellows is a fierce giant in the way, one-fourth of an inch long, and a most powerful hindrance to Colonization.

But the constitution and the oath of allegiance! Horrible tyranny, that a stranger should be required, before he be admitted to the rights of citizenship, to pledge himself to defend the laws and government of the country to which he immigrates, and in which he intends to reside! How cruel, not to make him wait three or five years before he can own a foot of land, but, immediately on complying with the above conditions, give him hundreds of acres, if required, and let him go and do as he pleases! Now, to sum up all this, it stands thus:

Sometimes colonists, going to Liberia, will find their log houses, covered with thatch, not quite ready to receive them, and have to live for a season in framed buildings covered with shingles.

To live in framed buildings, covered with shingles, for a while, because the other houses were not done in time to receive them, is a dreadful imposition. Therefore, colonizing free people of color in Africa is a bad thing, and those who go are fools.

It follows—European colonists' coming, a long while ago, to America, and having to live in log houses, covered with slabs, or any thing else, for the time—and that, too, with stern winter often just at hand—was a dreadful imposition, and they were fools; those who came first, and then advised others to follow, did so because "misery loves company:" or they were "afraid that as they were here, if they said any thing, no more people would come, and they would not be able to stand against the natives." Foolish people, ever to come here, as they did, and be the means of founding this great republic, this wonder among the nations of the earth.

But again. Colonizing free people of color in Africa, with their own consent, is exposing them to hearing monkeys chatter in the woods—seeing millions and millions of giant ants, of a quarter of an inch long, occupying mounds of earth raised by their own ingenuity—and hearing the unearthly sound of the whaw-whaw.*

But to hear monkeys chatter—though if you open your lips they scamper for life,—see millions of ants—though you may crush a million at a single

* This is beyond my ken. I lived four years in Liberia—was in all the settlements save one—but all the while lived on the earth, and heard nothing but earthly sounds, save thunder.

step,—hear whaw-whaws, are all dreadful impositions, and make a wretched life.

Therefore, colonizing free people of color in Africa is a “policy toward them cruel and wicked,” and doing the “d—l’s work in deceiving them to their ruin.”

It follows, European colonists, a long while ago, settling in America, were exposed to bears, wolves, panthers, catamounts, rattlesnakes, racoons, &c., some of which would destroy man, and some men’s sheep, poultry, &c.; and all this was a dreadful hard case—so much so, that \$60 bounty would be offered to a man who would kill a bear or wolf. Add to all this the stings of mosquitoes, the cawing of crows, the barking of foxes, the croaking of frogs—and they were the veriest of fools to remain here, and give birth to such a wealthy and great nation.

Once more, the writer swore he would not sign such a constitution, nor take the oath of allegiance. By the way, the latter was only pledging to aid in suppressing vice and crime, and supporting virtue, and setting an example of proper subordination to the powers that be; but the former oath was a wicked and abominable act, and more effectually doing ‘the devil’s work,’ than inducing colored men to go where monkeys chatter, and termites build their mounds.

But enough on this point. I repeat, that in this mass of “important information from Liberia,” as the publishers call it, there is contradiction in the statements. “Edina and Bassa Cove are picturesque enough. Were the government and the people industrious and efficient, something of the delightful might be made out of them.” Made out of what, and whom? Let us hear. “The land on the sea coast is sandy, in many places low and marshy, is very poor, and good for nothing.” “The peculiar barbarousness of this country, and its yet more barbarous natives, the monkeys, ants and whaw-whaws, are enough in themselves to drive civilization back to its original darkness, and make chaos come again.” Again—“Would I not rather die, than do the d—l’s work in thus deceiving people to their ruin?” “I know not whether our experiment will make for or against the Colonization scheme.” “I am not prepared to say whether people ought to come here or not.” “To arrive legitimately at these conclusions, will require farther experiments than I have yet made.”

If all this is “important information from Liberia, it derives its importance, not from its consistency, wisdom or truth, but from the important cause which it is blazoned about to traduce—the cause of Colonization. For nothing that can be consistently, wisely or truly said of that cause, can tarnish it—but tarnish it we must; therefore, let us have the most ridiculous stories about monkeys, ants, &c., more fit for the nursery than for men of common sense. Let us have picturesque and delightful mixed up with barbarousness, sandy deserts and good for nothing land. Let us get up something new—never mind if it is something false—no matter—and so down with Colonization.

The letter contains defamation—and here I wonder the more at its publication. Is it so light a matter in your country, sir, for one man to make public an allegation against another, such as is contained in that letter against you? Is it so, that you have embezzled the funds of the Colonization Society, at whose urgent entreaty you risked your life in Africa—lost your beloved companion—(pardon my adverting to that severe bereavement)—and returned lonely and widowed? Are the managers of that society so easily gulled as to demand no settlement of accounts with their agents, their officers, or governors? We know better. Invoices of their goods are taken and sent out—a book keeper is employed—every expenditure is recorded—every sale is accounted for; and I beseech you, if your country’s laws pro-

tect a citizen's reputation and character, and punish those who libelously injure them, see to it, for the sake of the Christian community, of which you are a member and a minister—see to it, that the publishers of such things go not unpunished.

But the writer defames the good people of Liberia; he calls them "crazy free negroes and mulattoes." He divides those into four classes, each of whom gives reasons why they do not oppose Colonization. One because misery loves company; another because they do not like to become conspicuous; a third were afraid of the natives, (and I suppose the giant ants, too;) and a fourth knows nothing about what has been said in America; but this they know, that they would return to the United States, if they could. These, all lumped together, he calls a "wretched pack," and being in such a pack gives acerbity to his temper. Now this is defamation. The people of Liberia are not crazy free negroes and mulattoes. They are a decent, genteel, moral, and many of them religious people. They are not all learned—they are not all wealthy; but they have more common sense than to be afraid of ants and monkeys, and means enough to live comfortably, as many good fat dinners the writer knows have often testified. And they are not afraid of expressing their views on any subject, or on any person.

If I were to select a settlement where the least amount of dissatisfaction prevailed against the country, the Colonization plan, or its officers, Bassa Cove or Edina would be the place. The whole adult male population of Edina, you well know, sir, united cheerfully with Bassa Cove, took the oath of allegiance, &c., were satisfied and contented. Nay, when I expressed my fears to several of the most intelligent men of Edina that the writer of this "important intelligence" would, by his too free and fiery expression of his feelings, create dissatisfaction among the citizens, they laughed at the idea. "Do you think, sir," they replied, "that any man coming here, however well educated he may be, or whatever his wealth, can persuade us we are not happy, we are not free, we have not the means in our reach of becoming wealthy and independent?—never. Let him rage on; he will never persuade us out of our senses.

But I stop here. Let all who read the "important letter," read Dr. Goheen's—read the excellent editorials from Hilary Teage, who, by the way, is not an inch behind the letter writer in point of competency to judge whether African Colonization has succeeded, or ever will succeed, but rather has the advantage, in having been a greater number of years in Africa than the other has been months.

I have not yet done with the letter, though I fear I shall weary your patience.

There are falsehoods in that letter. When you charged \$8 a barrel for corn meal, it is not true that it was an exorbitant price. Every barrel I have had sent me from New York cost \$5 *here*; then add cartage, 25 cents, freight, \$2, landing and portorage, 25 cents; and where is the dreadful advance complained of? It is not true, you well remember, that the \$8 barrel was a sour one. For I think I state the circumstances correctly, when I say that first a sound barrel of meal was sold the letter writer for \$8. When this was used, another was obtained, which proving a little damaged, (a most common thing with flour, meal, meats, &c., in tropical climates,) and the defect made known to you, it was put down to \$4; and if I am not very much mistaken, and I am well assured I am not, all was paid for in brown sugar at 25 cents per pound.

It is not true that the slave trade is carried on in Liberia. No slaves are there—none are bought, sold, or allowed to be there. But what gave rise to this assertion? Why, the writer, in sailing along the coast, in sight of land, saw a vessel, asked what she was, and was told a slaver; and so, because

she was a slaver, and near the coast, and above or below Monrovia, why, Monrovia deals in slaves. As well may I say, because, when at Palmas, for a few weeks, in July, 1837, I counted, from Mr. Wilson's piazza, or Gov. Russworm's, seven or eight slavers pass almost within gun shot, if not quite so, of the Cape, therefore the Cape Palmas people trade in slaves.

It is not true that Monrovia, or the old colony, is dying. I believe, and so will you, sir, that its condition, when we saw it, in May last, was healthy. I believe the statements of letters received by me lately from Dr. Goheen, Rev. B. R. Wilson. N. M. Hicks, Esq., Mrs. Wilkins, and Miss Beers. I believe the editor of the Herald. He has no possible reason for lying; for his paper is published on the spot, and falsehood would be detected immediately, and he exposed.

I must close, having written more than I intended; but I cannot do so without saying, that if the friends of Colonization, if the people of Liberia, never meet with any more difficulties to contend with than such buggybug, monkey, whaw-whaw sort of stories, they need not give themselves any uneasiness.

For my own part, when I think or hear of the great feats of the enemies of Colonization, and their wondrous tales, I conclude that if things continue so, should even the enterprize be worthy of reprehension at any time, its enemies, so long accustomed to be outrageously deviating from the truth, will never be believed; and this reminds me of a witticism I read when a boy:

Jack was a notorious liar,
So one day said a wit,
'Honest Harry's alive!'
'How do you know it?' said Ned.
'Oh! I'm certainly sure,
For Jack said he was dead!!'

I have written till 2, A. M., and must conclude, with assurances of the continued regard and affection of your affectionate brother and obedient serv't.

New York, 7th December, 1838.

JOHN SEYS.

MR. PAINE'S ADDRESS.

Our readers are already familiar with the able and zealous services in behalf of Colonization which have been rendered by the venerable ELIJAH PAINE, President of the Vermont Colonization Society. He has gained a new title to their esteem by the following address:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF VERMONT:

It has been my duty for several years past, as President of the Vermont Colonization Society, annually, in the spring of the year, to address the clergy and people of Vermont on the subject of African Colonization. But I now address the people more particularly on that subject, as a private individual.

And first, I will briefly make a few remarks on the objects of the Colonization Society; secondly, on the effects of its efforts on the emancipation of slaves; thirdly, as to its effects in Africa; fourthly, some remarks on the present situation of the Colonies; fifthly, on the tendency of Colonization to break up the slave trade, and, eventually, utterly destroy it, if the Society should be properly sustained by funds; and sixthly, to show that Colonizationists and Abolitionists are totally opposed to one great principle—at least, so far as the great leaders of Abolitionism are to be understood.

The first great object of the Colonization Society was to provide a suitable asylum in Africa for the free people of color in the United States, and such as might be thereafter manumitted, and transport them to that asylum.

They thought, and every person who has been taught by the lessons of history and experience will think with them, that the people of color can never enjoy in this country the privileges and advantages possessed by the whites, but that in Africa, a country designed by Providence for them—being previously civilized—they might enjoy them. They likewise hoped and believed that civilized and Christian colonies of colored people would be a great blessing to Africa.

The effect which the efforts of the Society have produced in the emancipation of slaves, is greater than the founders of the Society anticipated in so short a time. This effect, they supposed, would be only incidental; but the different Societies have already transported to Liberia more than two thousand slaves, liberated by their humane masters, who would not have been liberated by the laws of the slave States, had it not been for the Colonization Society. And tens of thousands more would have been liberated, if the Society had had money to transport and comfortably settle them in Africa. But probably as many people of color have been colonized as would be proper and advantageous in so short a time.

The effects of Colonization upon Africa are greater than its warmest friends anticipated in so short a period. They are truly wonderful. *Ethiopia already stretches out her hands unto God.* The colonies are a stepping-stone, if I may use the expression, for Christian missionaries to penetrate into the interior of Africa; and many missions have availed themselves of the opening. Many natives come into the colonies for the purpose of obtaining a Christian education, and some of the native kings send their sons there for the same purpose.

All the colonies in Liberia contain a population of more than five thousand. All the accounts of captains of the U. S. Navy and captains of other vessels which call there, and the missionaries who go there, represent the colonists as prosperous, happy and contented. The same witnesses represent them as a temperate, moral and religious community. Some of these witnesses, the missionaries particularly, say there is not a district in the United States, which has fallen under their observation, of the same number of inhabitants, where there is so little of intemperance, of Sabbath-breaking, and of profanity, as in Liberia. There are many churches, which these witnesses say are well attended. Their schools are pretty good, and they are endeavoring to improve them. The youths generally attend them.

Some of the colonists, at first, made themselves rich by commerce; but their attention is now more particularly directed to agriculture, to which their soil is remarkably well adapted. It would be unnecessary and tedious to name all the products of Liberia; but I will mention four that may be raised to almost an unlimited extent—coffee, cotton, rice, and the sugar cane.

I will close the remarks I have to make respecting Liberia, for the present, by adding, that there is a newspaper, well edited by a colored man, of larger dimensions than any published in Connecticut seventy years since.

I believe it is more than twenty years since Great Britain and the United States have been engaged in destroying the slave trade, and Great Britain has made treaties with several nations for that purpose. During the whole time, the British navy has been very vigilant, and made many captures of slave ships and slavers. But notwithstanding the whole power of the British navy and our own, the slave trade is increasing.

But the little Colonies of Liberia have wholly destroyed the slave trade for three hundred miles on the coast. And on this three hundred miles of coast, there were a number of slave markets before the colonies were founded.—The natives, who, under the influence of the colonies, are opposed to the slave trade, find that they can live better by agriculture and a peaceful commerce than by taking and selling slaves.

If the Colonization Society had funds to establish fifty or a hundred more such colonies on the western and southern coasts of Africa, these, with the British Colonies, would effectually destroy the slave trade. There would be no outlet for slaves; and the influence of the colonies to be established, upon the natives, would be the same as that of the colonies already founded. The natives of Africa would find it for their interest to live by agriculture, rather than by taking slaves and selling them.

I come now to show that Colonizationists and Abolitionists are totally opposed on one great principle—at least, so far as the great leaders of Abolitionism are to be understood. And I will add, that on this account, they never can act in harmony.

I have before shown that Colonizationists believe it would be much for the interest of the colored people to remove to Africa, where they may enjoy equal rights and privileges—the rights and privileges of freemen. All history, ancient and modern, both sacred and profane, proves that two distinct races of men cannot live in the same country upon terms of equality. The less intelligent race, even if the most numerous, will always think themselves trodden upon and oppressed by the more intelligent. We need not look far for a proof of this fact. If we cast our eyes only to Canada, we shall see the proof written in letters of blood.

And Colonizationists believe that by planting a sufficient number of colonies on the coast of Africa, that country would be civilized and Christianized, and the slave trade wholly abolished. But the Abolitionists (I mean the leaders of them) are wholly opposed to the removal of the people of color to Africa. In the early operations of the Colonization Society, the Abolitionists had their agents in all our large cities, where the people of color congregate, and indeed throughout the southern States, exhorting the free people of color not to go to Liberia. Then they endeavored, and still endeavor, to thwart the great objects of the Colonization Society. How then can the two societies harmonize together?

I know that some who profess to be abolitionists are friendly to the colonization of Africa. But whenever such persons are known to the abolition presses, those presses are out in full cry upon them, if they are thought worthy of notice. Such semi-abolitionists are more severely chastised by these presses than the most ardent and zealous Colonizationists. Indeed, the terms applied to them by abolition presses, are more opprobrious than those applied to the slave-holders; for while the latter are called knaves and rascals, or equivalent terms, the former are called both knaves and fools.—For some of this class of abolitionists I cherish a sincere and high regard, and hope they will soon be convinced of the error of abolitionism. After saying thus much, I will add, that I am myself an abolitionist, or an anti-slavery man, but not in the modern and ultra sense of the term; and such I believe every Colonizationist in New England to be.

There are some minor differences between the Colonizationists and Abolitionists—some of greater, and some of less importance.

The abolitionist thinks that an immediate emancipation of the slaves by their owners would be proper. The Colonizationist thinks that such a process would be injurious both to the slaves and the country. They think that a gradual emancipation would be much better. They approve of the plan adopted by the Legislature of New York, forty or fifty years since, to relieve that State from the evils of slavery.

Abolitionists think it best and most winning, in their publications, to call slave-holders by hard and opprobrious names. Colonizationists use more cautious language. Their language to slave-holders is: If you will release your slaves from bondage, we will send them to Liberia, if we can obtain the necessary money.

And now, my friends and fellow citizens, having very briefly discussed the various subjects suggested in the beginning of this letter, I have a further object in view. It is to ask your pecuniary aid, to enable the Colonization Society to consummate the great and glorious objects they contemplate.

If every individual in this State—man, woman and child—should contribute two cents each, it would raise six thousand dollars. This sum would transport and comfortably settle in Liberia, on small farms, one hundred and twenty persons; and if all the white people in the United States would give only twenty cents each, it would transport and settle, in like manner, fifty thousand persons, nearly the annual increase of the colored population.—And there is no fear but slaves may be liberated as fast as they can be sent to Liberia.

It may be objected that there are people in the State who are too poor to contribute any thing. I readily admit the fact; but I hope they have more wealthy neighbors who will be willing and happy to make up the deficiency.

I know, too, that there are some who will not give any thing, although they may have wealth; but I know of few towns in the State where there are not friends enough of the cause to make up even this deficiency, and live as well through life, and die as well, as if they had not been so liberal.—Such benefactions would be pleasant subjects of contemplation in this life, and they will be glorious to the benefactor when he shall appear before his God, to receive his final retribution.

To such Christians as delight in missionary enterprises, I will say, that here an almost boundless field is opened, in which they may indulge their Christian and ardent desire to do good.

What Christian has not rejoiced in the success of missionary labors in the Sandwich Islands? Africa opens a field nearly a million times larger for those labors, and the prospect of success is greater than it was at first in those Islands.

All the denominations of Christians in the United States who usually sent missionaries abroad, have sent missionaries to Liberia, who have penetrated some distance into the interior of Africa, among the natives. I believe the Methodists have sent the greatest number of missionaries. From all these missionaries we have the most cheering accounts of their prospects and actual success.

To merchants I would say, that a million or two of dollars spent by them in colonizing and civilizing Africa would, in thirty years, return to them, as a body, by means of commerce to that country, more than five-fold their advances. But I know that merchants look for more immediate returns, as quick returns are said to be the life of commerce. They do not like to cast their bread upon the waters, to be gathered up after many years. They are like a farmer forty years old, who will not plant an orchard of fruit trees, from the fear that he might not taste of the fruit, however delicious it might be to his children. And I would say to the present and future manufacturers of our country the same as I have said to the merchant. The civilization of Africa would open a market for all the products of their looms.

And if the Federal Government should colonize the whole western and southern coast of Africa, which is not already occupied by Great Britain, merely for the purpose of commerce with that country, I think they would discover statesman-like talents, which they have rarely heretofore discovered. I know it will be said that Congress has not this power under the Constitution. But why not? We keep ministers at foreign courts, at a great expense, for the purpose of commerce, as well as peace. At this moment, negotiations are progressing at many courts in Europe, at an expense probably of more than a hundred thousand dollars a year, to procure a more ready sale and a better price for tobacco. We support a large navy for the pro-

tection of commerce; and a large naval armament has been lately sent to the South seas. This, I know, is called a scientific expedition; but its great object is the extension of commerce—to explore the mines and riches of the extremity of the southern world, and to extend and protect the whale fishery. And if Congress can do all this, surely they can spend a drop in the bucket to open a rich commerce with Africa; and I will venture to say, that if Congress should expend a few millions of dollars in colonizing and civilizing Africa, more wealth would in fifty years be returned to the United States by means of a commerce with that country, than it would cost to transport and settle in Africa the whole colored population of the United States.

The great zeal of the British government for the suppression of the slave-trade may properly be attributed to a strong desire to find a new market for their manufactures, and to extend their commerce. They are wise statesmen. I do not deny that this zeal of the British is in some measure mixed with a laudable share of benevolence and humanity; but the great object is their manufactures and commerce.

Before I close this long letter, I hope the clergy of Vermont will permit me to address a few words to them. It is but a few years since a goodly number of ministers took up contributions in their societies. That number has been decreasing for five or six years, until this year. This year, since the first of January, the number is small indeed. Only seven congregations have contributed any thing since that time. The Congregational Society, in Williamstown, contributed \$26 48, and there was, besides, contributed at that meeting \$2 by a person of a different denomination, who came three miles for the purpose of contributing; and he did the same last year. Woodstock contributed \$15 70, Brookfield \$13 34, Bennington 1st Congregational Society \$11, Brattleboro' West Parish \$8, Danville \$5 52, Bridgeport \$4. And I know that one of these contributions was not asked for by the minister.

I do not permit myself to doubt but that there are yet many clergymen friendly to the cause of Colonization; and I have sought in my own mind for the reason why such ministers have not asked for contributions; and I have come to the conclusion, that where there are a very few abolitionists in their congregations, they are afraid of giving offence if they should ask for contributions. But abolition ministers do not discover such timidity.—Where they have many Colonizationists in their societies, they are not afraid to ask for money to pay their itinerant lecturers. Is it because the latter possess more moral courage than the former?

It is hoped, and earnestly requested, that those ministers who are friendly to the cause will give that share of attention to it which its importance demands, and that they will next year ask for contributions, so far as they can consistently.

In drawing to a conclusion, I will propose to the friends of Colonization, that they should, in every town, let their number be ever so small, appoint some one or more persons to obtain subscriptions. About \$26 from each town in the State would raise six thousand dollars. It might be supposed that the more wealthy and populous towns would give more, as those least populous and wealthy might not conveniently give so much. But any sum will be acceptable.

If the people of Vermont will, by the first day of next December, deposit with Daniel Baldwin, Esq., of Montpelier, Treasurer of the Vermont Colonization Society, six thousand dollars, I hereby pledge myself and bind myself to add one thousand dollars to it by the 10th day of next December, and place the money, by that time, where the Treasurer of the American Colonization Society can obtain it, without discount.

Williamstown, Dec. 11, 1838.

ELIJAH PAINE.





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